

Message Text

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SUBJECT: EVANS/NOVAK ARTICLE ON EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN

EVANS/NOVAK COLUMN IN APRIL 13 WASHINGTON POST CARRIES
FOLLOWING ITEM UNDER HEADLINE "A NATO DEFENSE TRIANGLE
OF WORSENING RELATIONS":

QUOTE. A CONFIDENTIAL TELEPHONE CALL FROM THE PRIME MINIS-
TER OF GREECE TO PRESIDENT FORD APRIL 1 BROUGHT A BITTER
COMPLAINT THAT EXPLAINED WHY THE IMMENSELY IMPORTANT
AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE U.S. AND TURKEY TO REOPEN FORMER
U.S. BASES IN TURKEY IS DOOMED.

PRIME MINISTER CONSTANTINE KARAMANLIS INFORMED THE PRESI-
DENT THAT THE NEW AGREEMENT (NOT YET SUBMITTED TO CONGRESS)
DOES NOT EVEN ATTEMPT SAFEGUARDS AGAINST TURKEY'S USING
THE BASES IN WAR AGAINST GREECE. THE NEW AGREEMENT, HE
CHARGED, WOULD DANGEROUSLY UPSET THE BALANCE OF POWER IN
THE AEGEAN.

THE GREEK PREMIER HAS PRIVATELY VOICED THOSE SAME COM-
PLAINTS AGAINST THE NEW U.S.-TURKEY ACCORD TO OTHER STATES-
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MEN IN THE NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION: THE BRITISH

PRIME MINISTER, THE WEST GERMAN CHANCELLOR AND THE FRENCH

PRESIDENT. BUT HIS WORDS CARRY GREATEST WEIGHT IN THE U.S. CONGRESS, WHERE THE GREEK LOBBY IS MORE INFLUENTIAL THAN THE PRESIDENT HIMSELF.

THIS HIGHLY UNUSUAL INTERVENTION OF AN ALLY INTO THE AFFAIRS OF THE U.S. AND TURKEY CONTRIBUTES TO THIS HORRIFYING SITUATION: THE U.S.-TURKISH BASES AGREEMENT, EVEN BEFORE ITS DISPATCH TO CONGRESS, IS HEADED FOR DISASTER. IT CANNOT PASS CONGRESS AND MAY NOT EVEN EMERGE FROM COMMITTEE. WHAT THEN WILL FOLLOW IS MORE ALARMING DETERIORATION IN THE NATO DEFENSE SYSTEM IN THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN.

THE EXTENT OF THE DISASTER CAN BE MEASURED BY THE ILL-FATED COURSE OF U.S. DIPLOMACY EVER SINCE 1974, WHEN CONGRESS BLINDLY FOLLOWED THE DICTATES OF ETHNIC POLITICS TO BAR AMERICAN AID TO TURKEY. THAT PUNISHED TURKEY FOR USING U.S. WEAPONS AGAINST THE GREEKS IN CYPRUS FOLLOWING THE ATTEMPTED CYPRUS TAKEOVER BY THE MILITARY DICTATORSHIP THEN RULING GREECE.

EVER SINCE, U.S.-TURKISH, U.S.-GREEK AND GREEK-TURKISH RELATIONS -- A TRIANGLE OF THREE NATO PILLARS -- HAVE DANGEROUSLY WORSENED.

THAT DETERIORATION SYMBOLIZES PERHAPS THE MOST DISTURBING ASPECT OF THE U.S. ROLE IN THE WORLD TODAY: EMBITTERED, DESTRUCTIVE POLITICAL WARFARE BETWEEN AN ADMINISTRATION STRIVING TO PREVENT FURTHER DIMINUTION OF AMERICAN INFLUENCE IN THE WORLD AND A LIBERAL DEMOCRATIC CONGRESS DENYING THE VALIDITY OF THAT AMERICAN ROLE WHILE ENGAGED IN DOMESTIC ETHNIC POLITICS.

IRONICALLY, SINCE PRESIDENT FORD'S NEW BASES DEAL, THOUGH DESIGNED TO TURN THE TIDE, IS NOW DESTINED TO DIE IN CONGRESS, THE RESULT WILL BE FURTHER ESTRANGEMENT WITH TURKEY AND EVEN MORE POISONED RELATIONS WITH CONGRESS.

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THE FORMER U.S. BASES ARE SUPPOSED TO BE TURNED OVER TO TURKEY IN RETURN FOR RESTORING THEIR USE FOR INVALUABLE U.S. ELECTRONIC INTELLIGENCE OPERATIONS AGAINST THE SOVIET UNION. THE PRICE TAG OF \$1 BILLION TO TURKEY OVER FOUR YEARS DOES NOT SEEM EXCESSIVE.

THE PROBLEM IS HOW TO ANSWER THE QUESTION POSED BY KARAMANLIS TO MR. FORD ON BARRING THE USE OF THE BASES AGAINST

GREECE ITSELF. THERE IS NO ANSWER EXCEPT ATTEMPTS TO RE-
ESTABLISH MUTUAL GOOD FAITH BETWEEN THREE ALLIES AND THAT

IS NOT GOOD ENOUGH FOR THE DEMOCRATS WHO CONTROL CONGRESS
-- SUCH AS SEN. GEORGE MCGOVERN OF SOUTH DAKOTA.

"THAT THE UNITED STATES WOULD ENTER INTO AN AGREEMENT
SO RECKLESS AS TO ALLOW TURKEY TO TAKE OVER AND USE
AMERICAN BASES AGAINST GREECE, A NATO ALLY, IS UNTHINK-
ABLE," MCGOVERN, CHAIRMAN OF THE SENATE FOREIGN RELATIONS
SUBCOMMITTEE ON THE NEAR EAST, SAID IN AN APRIL 7 LETTER
TO ELIAS DEMETRACOPOULOS, THE WASHINGTON-BASED GREEK
INSIDER. THE SIMILARITY TO KARAMANLIS'S TELEPHONE CALL
SIX DAYS EARLIER IS SCARCELY COINCIDENTAL.

MAKING A DIFFICULT SITUATION WORSE IS THE ADMINISTRATION'S
BLUNDER IN ASKING CONGRESS FOR A ONE-SHOT APPROVAL COVER-
ING THE NEXT FOUR YEARS TO FUND THE \$1 BILLION FOR THE
TURKISH BASES, BYPASSING THE ANNUAL AUTHORIZATION PROCESS.
THERE IS NO CHANCE THIS CONGRESS WOULD LOOSEN ITS GRIP
OVER THE FEDERAL PURSESTRINGS TO SUCH AN EXTENT.

ANOTHER ADMINISTRATION AGREEMENT NOW IN THE SENATE --
THE DEAL WITH SPAIN COVERING U.S. MILITARY BASES -- IS
ALMOST SURE TO BE CHANGED BY THE SENATE TO REQUIRE ANNUAL
AUTHORIZATIONS. THAT CHANGE, DEMANDED BY CHAIRMAN
THOMAS E. MORGAN OF THE HOUSE INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS
COMMITTEE, IS A PRECEDENT OF SORTS UNDERMINING THE AD-
MINISTRATION'S APPROACH TO THE TURKISH DEAL.

IN 1974, CONGRESS RUINED THE ADMINISTRATION'S CYPRUS PLAN
TO RESTORE STABILITY IN THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN BY
CUTTING OFF AID TO TURKEY. NOW, STABILITY IS FURTHER
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AWAY THAN EVER. THE IMPENDING CONGRESSIONAL REJECTION
OF THE TURKISH BASES AGREEMENT REFLECTS THE INABILITY OF
THE U.S. TO OPERATE AS A GREAT POWER. THAT, ALONG WITH
THE SOVIET UNION'S POLITICAL OFFENSIVES AND MILITARY
GROWTH, MARKS AN OMINOUS SHIFT IN THE WORLD POWER BALANCE.
UNQUOTE.
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